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cannot destroy his soul or betray his conception of democracy by fighting.

In the face of the present situation the need of food offers the objector his opportunity. If he helps produce food he gives life instead of taking it. He may even produce food for the army. He feels no ill will toward the soldier and can gladly labor to give him the necessities of his life, even if he cannot work in a munitions factory to give him the necessities of his trade. He realizes, furthermore, that, in those bright days when the war shall cease, full granaries will increase our ability to prove to the people of an hostile land that we are hostile not to them, but to their government only.

If a farmer, the objector goes at his work with renewed energy to make his acres yield their utmost of food. If in some other way of life, in his leisure time he may cultivate a garden. If of military age and free from dependents, he may offer himself to the government for farm labor wherever most needed. "A Conscientious Objectors' Farm Labor Corps" in some form or other deserves government recognition.

The preliminary outline of their plan for a farm-labor corps provides for the enrollment of conscientious objectors of military age for farm work wherever they may be of the most use, payment to be based upon the regular army rates. As it is hardly likely that the government itself will become a farmer, the suggestion has been made that if this plan of payment is adopted the difference between the sums paid to the farm volunteer and the market value of the work he does be devoted to some relief work which the worker or his organization may name.

Quite a large army of workers might be obtained from the application of this plan to the 118,000 Friends, 123,000 Dunkards, or Brethren, and 61,000 Mennonites in the country, not to mention other conscientious objectors; for it is no part of the plan of the Friends to concede the point brought out in the army bill, that conscientious objectors must be confined to religious organizations whose creed prohibits war. As a matter of fact, the Friends have no formal creed; their religion is based primarily on the dictates of conscience, supported, of course, by a large body of testimony.

At schools and colleges students can organize to spend part of their leisure time in agricultural work. In New Jersey the State government is enrolling high-school students as members of the "Junior Industrial Army" and excuses them from school duty. This seems a mistake, for educational work among boys could never be more needed than when we face large possible losses among our young men. If we mobilize the leisure time of school boys and girls, they can make an enormous contribution. Each boarding school and college situated in the country ought to mean an increased production in that neighborhood. At my own institution of 200 students, near Philadelphia, students and teachers pledged 707 hours a week at farm labor.

Other opportunities for real service are also open to conscientious objectors. The most available, because it is already organized, is the American Red Cross. Some cannot conscientiously enter it, because in time of war it is subject to military authority. Others, however, will feel that it is right to relieve suffering. Their labor ministers to the need of the soldier's person, not the needs of his pursuit.

Those objectors who have sufficient technical training might offer themselves for the ship-building work undertaken by the Shipping Board. Stricken Europe, friend and foe, needs the supplies which these boats will carry.

Another field of labor requiring specific training and ability is in the Y. M. C. A. work at training camps. As the war develops, similar work for the social welfare of the people affected will open. The most deplorable conditions already exist in towns active in munitions manufacturing. These menace not only the efficiency, but the morale of America. Should any large internments of aliens become necessary, there will be need, as there has been in England, for social work among them and among their dependents.

There are also other avenues of service, purely personal, incapable of organization; but the sum total of such service is beyond calculation. The President's proclamation called for thrift and economy. The conscientious objector gladly responds, making sacrifices of comfort and convenience. Good cheer must not be lost in the grim business that has come upon us. There is a terrible tension in life which, if unrelieved, saps our vigor. "The days are like weeks and the weeks like years" is the tragic plaint of one sensitive soul. Through emotional excitement men are not themselves. State-ments are misunderstood and misquoted. Friends wonder at friends. Life is losing its spirit. Friendship, love, family ties, and the solace of God are needed as never before in this generation. The conscientious objector, though under a greater strain than his neighbor, may do unlimited service by preserving his poise, by keeping fresh his sense of courtesy, of humor, and justice. In ordinary times the nation enjoys such qualities of manhood; in a crisis they are essential, and their preservation is a patriotic service.

PROPOSALS OF INTEREST TO THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

[The following interesting paragraphs are taken from Dr. Scott's report as Director of the Division of International Law to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 20, 1917. The publication of the works referred to in these paragraphs was duly authorized by the Trustees of the Endowment.—THE EDITORS.]

LAST year the Director of the Division published, with the approval of the Executive Committee, Ladd's "Essay on a Congress and a Court of Nations," which he ventured to state as still in his opinion the greatest single literary contribution to the cause of international justice and therefore of international peace. The volume, known to the few, had been lost to the many, but it is now at the elbow of any one who cares to read it, and it is believed that no one can casually consult it without seeing that this simple-minded and unpretentious person, preaching the cause of international justice to an indifferent public, outlined in detail the call, the program, and the procedure of the Hague Peace conferences, and stated in clear and unsurpassed terms the nature and the function of a court of nations in whose establishment and successful operation many people see the hope of the future.

William Ladd was the founder, and in the last year

and a half of his lifetime the President, of the American Peace Society. During a long period William Jay, of New York, was its President, and his contribution, similar in compass and less far-reaching than Ladd's, has had a great and beneficent influence. It is rare in thought and rich in wisdom. It is difficult to find, and a copy of it is almost as rare as its thought and wisdom. And yet this tractate, for it makes no pretension to the form and substance of a book in these days of elaborate contributions, has to its credit one of the most reasonable proposals, so reasonable indeed that even nations intent on war and with apparently little time to think of peace have been unable to resist it. It is nothing more nor less than the so-called *clause compromissoire*, so familiar to our day in its French form, and which may be freely rendered as the special or general agreement contained in a treaty to submit the disputes arising out of its interpretation or other disputes.

It is proper to state in this connection that within a few years after its publication Mr. Jay's suggestion found its way into Article XXI of the treaty of peace of February 2, 1848, between Mexico and the United States, commonly known as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and is said by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* "to have contributed to the promulgation by the Powers signing the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, of a protocol expressing the wish that nations before resorting to arms should have recourse to the good offices of a friendly Power."

It may perhaps be said, in this connection, that Mr. Jay suggested that a provision of the kind he proposed should be contained in a treaty with our first and only ally, and that the United States actually concluded with France its first treaty of this kind.

It is of importance to show that believers in international peace are not recruited only from the emotional class, and that they have what seems to be indispensable in a democracy—a respectable ancestry. William Jay was the worthy son of a distinguished father, whose name adorns the treaty between Great Britain and the United States recognizing the independence of the erstwhile colonies, and who negotiated the treaty between Great Britain and the United States at a later date which preserved the peace that he helped to make, though it cost him the Presidency, and which introduced arbitration into the practice of nations.

A distinguished lawyer, an upright and a just judge, a founder and president for many years of the American Bible Society, an author of merit, for his life of his father and his history of the Mexican War are no mean productions, William Jay has claims to respect beyond the covers of his little book; but this contribution, like the treaty which bears his father's name, has made the son, like the father, a benefactor of his kind.

The Director recommends that William Jay's "War and Peace" be reissued by the Endowment with an appropriate introduction, showing the relation of Jay's contribution to the constructive peace movement.

Elihu Burritt was the friend and associate of William Ladd, whose disciple he modestly but properly calls himself, and, although he has solid and substantial claims of his own upon which to rest his great reputation and to keep his memory green, he is best known in the movement for international peace as the popularizer of Ladd's ideas. His career has been a source of inspiration to

many an American youth, and his acquisition of knowledge, especially in the domain of languages, under great difficulties, would justly serve as the example at any time and in any country of what might be accomplished with good parts, intelligent industry, and indomitable perseverance.

He has more than one good book to his credit. He served as American consul in Birmingham, England, for a number of years, and the penny postage between Great Britain and the United States was not the least of his achievements. In the peace movement he is known as the organizer of international conferences, held in the different cities and countries of Europe, attended by such men as Richard Cobden, Victor Hugo, and Sir David Brewster, to mention but three of his associates, and before which he laid Ladd's projects for an international conference or congress of nations and an international court based upon the practice and procedure of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is impossible to estimate adequately the influence of such a man, when we bear in mind that high-minded and generous souls are set on fire by a mere word, their lives changed, and even international agencies for good established, for is not the Interparliamentary Union, the greatest of international associations, due to the generous enthusiasm and life-long devotion of a starveling apprentice by the name of Cramer, who heard the gospel of arbitration one evening after sundown and devoted his life to its realization?

Burritt's day of usefulness is not yet past, for, although he popularized doctrines which he did not originate, he nevertheless performed a worthy service. The doctrines for which he stood and which he made known are still the desire of the enlightened, and his methods of propaganda, worthy of the subject and of the occasion, are models of presentation and of dignity for partisans of international justice who are tempted to address their fellows from the platform or to influence them through the press.

It should be stated that Elihu Burritt was at one time Secretary of the American Peace Society, and thus entered into official association with Jay and Ladd as an officer of this remarkable organization. The Director believes and therefore states that these three men have furnished the doctrines and the methods of *popularizing* which, if accepted by the nations, will result in the administration of justice between and among them. Ladd's "Essay on a Congress and Court of Nations" is the foundation upon which the constructive peace movement rests. Jay's tractate on "War and Peace" shows the nations how they can preserve their peace unbroken by arbitration and the administration of justice, and furnishes the form of an agreement. Elihu Burritt's addresses and papers supply the model of propaganda which interested such men as Cobden, Victor Hugo, and Sir David Brewster, and which will interest their successors.

The Director knows no peace society with such traditions as those of the American Peace Society, and, by publishing the works of these three great men, he touches, as it were, reverently and from a distance the hem of their garments. He asks approval by the Trustees of the publication of selected addresses and papers of Elihu Burritt, with an introduction showing the place which that great and good man occupies in the movement for international peace.